

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 /026 W

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P R 031408Z AUG 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6659

INFO USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS PRIORITY

SECDEF WASHDC

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USMISSION BERLIN

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 11098

EXDIS

SHAPE FOR INTAF; USBER FOR THE AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, GW, US

SUBJECT: MBFR: PRELIMINARY FRG POSITION ON US PAPER  
AND STATIONED/INDIGENOUS ISSUE.

SUMMARY: FOREIGN OFFICE AND DEFENSE MINISTRY SOURCES  
TELL US THAT THEY CAN ACCEPT THE US COMMON CEILING  
CONCEPT AS A FRAMEWORK FOR THE WESTERN MBFR NEGOTIATING  
POSITION. BUT THE FRG WISHES CLARIFICATION AS TO HOW  
AND WHEN THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT WILL BE INTRODUCED  
INTO THE NEGOTIATIONS IN ORDER TO GAIN SOVIET  
ACCEPTANCE OF THE HIGHLY ASSYMETRICAL SECOND PHASE  
REDUCTIONS ENTAILED IN THE US PAPER. THE DEFENSE  
MINISTRY IS NO LONGER INSISTING ON SIMULTANEOUS  
INITIAL NEGOTIATIONS ON STATIONED AND INDIGENOUS  
REDUCTIONS BUT WILL HEDGE ON DEFINITIVE ALLIED  
AGREEMENT ON STATIONED/INDIGENOUS ISSUE UNTIL ALLIANCE  
DISCUSSION CLARIFIES WHETHER COMMON CEILING APPROACH  
CAN BE HANDLED IN SUCH A WAY TO ASSURE THAT THERE  
WILL IN FACT BE AN MBFR-II. THE FRG WILL MAKE A  
GENERAL STATEMENT AND POSE SOME INITIAL QUESTIONS TO  
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THIS EFFECT AT THE AUGUST 3 NAC SESSION. END SUMMARY.

1. GENERAL. EMBOFF MET SEPARATELY AUGUST 2 WITH  
FONOFF REGIONAL DISARMAMENT DEPT DIRECTOR RUTH, AND

DEFMIN ASST SECRETARY WIECK, THE POLICY PLANNING STAFF CHIEF. BOTH PRAISED THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT IN PRINCIPLE, SAYING IT SHOULD PROVIDE THE WORKING BASIS OF THE WESTERN POSITION. WIECK TERMED A COMMON CEILING A MEANINGFUL GOAL AND SAID IT SHOULD BE A "DOMINANT FACTOR" IN DETERMINING THE CONTENTS, PHASES, TACTICS, AND PROCEDURES OF THE WESTERN POSITION ON THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. WIECK SAID THE DEFMIN HAD BEEN FAVORABLY IMPRESSED BY THE IMPROVED DATA BASIS IN THE JULY 27 US PAPER.

2. TERMINOLOGY. WIECK SAID HE HAD NO PROBLEMS ACCEPTING THE NEW US DEFINITIONS FOR STATIONED AND INDIGENOUS FORCES; HE UNDERSTOOD THAT STATIONED FORCES MEANT US AND SOVIET FORCES, THAT WESTERN INDIGENOUS FORCES MEANT ALL OTHER INVOLVED WESTERN EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN FORCES AND THAT EASTERN INDIGENOUS FORCES WERE NOT YET EXPLICITLY DEFINED. IN A RELATED COMMENT, RUTH TOLD EMBOFF HE LIKED THE IDEA IN THE NEW BRITISH PAPER THAT THE TERMS STATIONED AND INDIGENOUS SHOULD BE DROPPED IN FAVOR OF A DISTINCTION BETWEEN US/SOVIET FORCES AND EUROPEAN (PLUS CANADIAN) FORCES.

3. FONOFF POSITION. RUTH AND WIECK SAID THE FRG WILL MAKE AN INITIAL STATEMENT ON THE JULY 27 US PAPER IN THE NAC AUGUST 3, PRAISING THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT AS A GOOD FRAMEWORK FOR THE WESTERN MBFR NEGOTIATION POSITION. BUT RUTH, WHO WILL ATTEND AUGUST 3 NAC SESSION, SAID THE GERMANS WILL ASK SOME INITIAL QUESTIONS ABOUT HOW BEST TO HANDLE THE COMMON CEILING APPROACH TACTICALLY IN THE NEGOTIATIONS TO INSURE SOVIET ACCEPTANCE. RUTH TALKED OF HOW AND WHEN THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT SHOULD BE INTRODUCED INTO THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS TO INSURE THAT A SECOND MBFR NEGOTIATION PHASE DOES IN FACT FOLLOW THE STATIONED FORCE TALKS. HE SPOKE OF CLARIFYING DETAILS  
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IN THE US POSITION AND ALLUDED TO BRITISH OPPOSITION TO INDIGENOUS FORCE CUT NEGOTIATIONS, NOTWITHSTANDING SOME FLEXIBILITY IN RECENT BRITISH PAPER.

4. AS WE REPORTED IN BONN 10814, RUTH SAID US COMMON CEILING APPROACH HAD BEEN VERY HELPFUL IN INTERNAL GERMAN DISCUSSIONS AS IT ASSUMED SECOND NEGOTIATION PHASE INCLUDING INDIGENOUS FORCES AND ALSO PROVIDED INDICATION OF THE EXTENT OF MBFR-II REDUCTIONS--I.E., THOSE REMAINING EASTERN AND WESTERN

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 /026 W

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P R 031408Z AUG 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6660

INFO USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS PRIORITY

SECDEF WASHDC

AMEMBASSY LONDON

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S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 03 BONN 11098

EXDIS

FORCE REDUCTIONS NECESSARY TO REACH RESPECTIVE 704,000 CEILINGS. RUTH SAID A WEEK OF INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE DEFENSE MINISTRY HAD RESULTED IN MEANINGFUL PROGRESS ON THE STATIONED/INDIGENOUS REDUCTION ISSUE BUT ADDED THAT "WE ARE NOT YET COMPLETELY OUT OF THE WOODS". HE SAID THE PROBLEM NOW WAS "HOW DO WE TRANSLATE THIS PRINCIPLE (COMMON CEILING) INTO CURRENCY IN THE NEGOTIATIONS". WHILE RUTH SAID THE DEFMIN HAD NOT SO FAR BEEN PRESSING FOR DEFINING THE COMPOSITION OF MBFR-II WESTERN REDUCTIONS, A POINT WIECK CONFIRMED, IT NOW WAS NECESSARY TO DISCUSS WITHIN THE ALLIANCE FACTORS THAT COULD PRECLUDE THE CARRYING OUT OF THE TWO PHASED NEGOTIATION PROGRAM PROPOSED BY THE US. IT IS RUTH'S HOPE THAT THIS CLARIFICATION PROCESS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED IN NATO WITHIN THE NEXT COUPLE OF WEEKS. HE THEN WOULD HOPE TO VISIT WASHINGTON IN MID-AUGUST, ALONG WITH A DEFMIN REP, TO DISCUSS THEN OUTSTANDING ISSUES.

5. DEFENSE MINISTRY VIEWS. WIECK CONFIRMED RUTH'S ACCOUNT OF GENERAL FRG T/INKING AS REPORTED ABOVE, BUT WAS SOMEWHAT MORE SPECIFIC AS TO INITIAL GERMAN QUESTIONS. HE SAID THE DEFMIN ACCEPTED THE COMMON SECRET

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CEILING APPROACH IN PRINCIPLE AND ESSENTIALLY WAS ASKING THE QUESTION WHETHER THIS CONCEPT COULD BE SALEABLE TO THE SOVIETS THUS INSURING THAT A SECOND PHASE DEALING WITH INDIGENOUS FORCES WOULD ACTUALLY OCCUR. IF IT APPEARED THAT SUCH A SECOND PHASE MIGHT NOT OCCUR, MINISTER LEBER'S PROBLEM OF MAINTAINING

CURRENT LEVELS OF GERMAN FORCES AND DEFENSE SPENDING WOULD NOT BE SOLVED AND SIMILAR PROBLEMS IN OTHER WEST EUROPEAN ALLIED COUNTRIES WOULD PERSIST. IT WAS THEREFORE IMPORTANT TO DETERMINE WHETHER THE US APPROACH COULD BE NEGOTIABLE WITH THE RUSSIANS. THE DEFMIN HAD SOME SERIOUS DOUBTS ON THIS MATTER, GIVEN THE SYMMETRICAL PERCENTAGES (STILL TO THE SOVIET DISADVANTAGE) WHICH THE US HAD PROPOSED FOR PHASE-I AND THE "EXTREMELY ASSYMETRICAL CUTS" IN PHASE-II. WIECK SAID THE GERMANS WOULD BE ASKING, IN THE NAC, HOW TO HANDLE THIS US COMMON CEILING APPROACH IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. EVEN IF THE WEST STARTED BY FOCUSING ON US AND SOVIET FORCES, IT WOULD NOT TAKE THE RUSSIANS LONG TO CALCULATE THE ASSYMETRY REQUIRED IN PHASE-II TO REACH A COMMON CEILING.

6. WHILE WIECK ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE DEFMIN NO LONGER INSISTED UPON THE SIMULTANEOUS NEGOTIATION OF STATIONED AND INDIGENOUS FORCES IN MBFR-I, HE INDICATED THAT THE FRG WOULD HEDGE ON A DEFINITIVE ALLIED AGREEMENT ON THE STATIONED/INDIGENOUS ISSUE UNTIL ALLIANCE DISCUSSION CLARIFIES WHETHER COMMON CEILING APPROACH CAN BE HANDLED IN SUCH A WAY TO ASSURE THAT THERE WILL IN FACT BE AN MBFR-II. WIECK INDICATED, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT LEBER HAD NOT YET SET ASIDE HIS THINKING ON STAGGERED IMPLEMENTATION OF STATIONED AND INDIGENOUS FORCE REDUCTIONS.

7. ADDITIONAL DEFMIN QUESTIONS. IN ADDITION TO THE NEGOTIABILITY ISSUE, WIECK NOTED CERTAIN DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US JULY AND APRIL PAPERS. FIRST, HE SAID THE APRIL PAPER DESCRIBED OUTCOMES THE US COULD LIVE WITH WHILE THE JULY PAPER REPRESENTED WESTERN OPENING

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 /026 W

----- 130468

P R 031408Z AUG 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6661

INFO USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS PRIORITY

SECDEF WASHDC

AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USNMR SHAPE  
USMISSION BERLIN

S E C R E T SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 11098

EXDIS

POSITION AND GOALS. HE NOTED THAT AMB RUMSFELD SAID US WOULD WELCOME SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF OUR PRESENT PROPOSAL IN THE COURSE OF COUNCIL DISCUSSIONS. SECOND, WIECK SAID PRESENT US PAPER SAID NOTHING ABOUT THE TIMING OF IMPLEMENTATION, A FACTOR WHICH HE ADDED CONTINUES TO BE IN THE PICTURE. THIRD, WIECK COMPARED INITIAL FIFTEEN PERCENT US/SOVIET SYMMETRICAL CUTS WITH THE ASSYMETRICAL US (TEN PERCENT)--SOVIET (TWENTY PERCENT) REDUCTIONS PROVIDED FOR IN THE ORIGINAL US OPTION-I. GIVEN SYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS CALLED FOR IN JULY US PAPER, WIECK SAID SOVIETS HAVE MORE TROOPS LEFT AFTER INITIAL NEGOTIATION PHASE (THAN UNDER OPTION-I)SO SECOND PHASE MUST BECOME "EXTREMELY ASSYMETRICAL" TO WARSAW PACT DISADVANTAGE RATHER THAN TO WESTERN DISADVANTAGE AS IN OPTION-I US PAPER. WIECK WONDERED WHETHER THIS APPROACH MIGHT PRESENT SOVIETS WITH SUBSTANTIAL DISINCENTIVE TO ENTERING INTO SECOND MBFR NEGOTIATION PHASE. FINALLY, WIECK SAID FRG WOULD HAVE FURTHER QUESTIONS AS A RESULT OF CONTINUING EXAMINATION OF US PAPER AND THE OUTCOME OF INITIAL NAC DISCUSSIONS. IN THIS RESPECT, WIECK SAID THE DEFMIN HAD NOT YET HAD THE TIME TO FOCUS  
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ON CONSTRAINTS OR OTHER ASPECTS OF THE NEW US PAPER.  
HILLENBRAND

SECRET

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SECDEF  
LONDON  
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